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THE
UNLAWFULNESS
OF
Stretching forth the Hand
TO
Resist or Murder
P R I N C E S,
WITH THE
Principal Cases about *RESISTANCE*,
CONSIDERED,
In Two SERMONS.

The First Preacht upon the Last Thirtieth of *January*.
The other, upon the Day of *Thanksgiving*, for the
Deliverance of the King and Kingdom from the
Late Treasonable Conspiracy.

By *WILLIAM PAYNE* Rector of *St. Mary*
White-Chappel.

L O N D O N,
Printed by *A. Grover*, for *Walter Kittilby* at the *Bishop's-Head* in
St. Paul's Church-yard. 1683.

UNLAWFULNESS

Stitching (and) of Hand

Exhibit to Exhibit

P R I N C I P A L

WITH THE

Principal Cases on REVISION

In Two SEASONS

First Part of the Year 1882
Second Part of the Year 1882
The Year of the King and Kingdom from the
Late (1882) Conference

SEVENTH PARTIAL REVIEW of St. Mary
White Chapel

L A D O N

Printed by the Author, at the House
of St. Mary's Church, 1882.

The Epistle
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TO THE

HONOURABLE

Sir *WILLIAM SCROGGS*

Late Lord Chief Justice of

ENGLAND.

My Lord,

I Could be very glad that I had
less Reason to justify the publi-
shing of these Sermons, and that
they were altogether as unreasonable, as
the putting out of Bills to Cure the
Plague, when no Body is Sick or Dies
of it, but Treason is a Disease that

The Epistle

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Rages amongst us, and though it be not like the Sweating-Sickness of old, a Malady peculiar to English Men, yet the plenty and Luxury of our Country may perhaps make us more Subject to it then others : Were I able to prescribe any thing, however ordinary, that was likely to be either a Remedy or an Antidote against it, I should think it my Duty as a Lover of the Peace and Salvation of Mankind, as a Lover of my King and Country, and as a Minister of that Church and Religion, which has been often the Mark, but never the Author of any Treason ; and I hope the good meaning of this Endeavour will compound for the weakness of it, and its Honesty and Charity cover the Multitude of its Faults and Imperfections ; I thought my self more then ordinarily concerned to do this when the Infection

Dedicatory.

fection had so largely spread at our end of the Town and in my own Parish, where two of the Conspirators that are Executed, and two others that are in the Proclamation had their last Abodes ; for though this, does not like other Contagions, begin in Alleys and the Out-parts, among the Poor and Ordinary Persons, yet the Great ones make it their Business to spread it among those, and there it settles, and there it generally breaks out. Had these Men come to our Churches they had learnt other Principles, then what I am afraid, they have done elsewhere ; and that none may be so malicious as to think we calculate our Sermons merely for the present Circumstances, as if the Pulpit were but a kind of weather-glass, wherein the Doctrine of Obedience to Governours is higher or lower according to the temperature or Variation

The Epistle

tion of outward Affairs, I have put out
a plain Sermon without any addition or
alteration, that was Preacht long before
the Plot, when I little thought of having
any such occasion to make it publick ; I
thought then, and do so now, that those
Obvious and Familiar things, which
every one must use on that Subject,
would do good ; but there remained a
harder part, which was to keep the
good Seed I had sowed clear from the
Weeds that are apt to grow up and
choke it, for Treason has stood so
long, without being cut down, especially
in the late Times that it has run to seed,
and scattered its Principles that will
not fail to nourish and make it grow
again, and I thought the only way to
destroy it, was to pluck up those by
the Rootes.

I

Dedictory.

I know, My Lord, the Subject will commend it self to your Patronage, whose Loyalty to your Prince is so well known to all, that as it was always your vertue, so it has been sometimes your Crime; and who have so well shown your Zeal and Abhorrence of all Plots and Treasons in the late Popish one, where your Justice and Eloquence were too hard for the cunningest of Traitors, and the Priests found your Reason out-doe their Infallibility; yet I should not have presumed to offer these Discourses unto your Lordships hands, who is not only so great a Judge but so great a Master of sence and of speaking, but that I know your Candour and Mercy is equal to your Judgment, so that what has inclined you to approve and encourage me in some other things of this nature,

The Epistle Dedicatory.

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ture, will I question not, prompt you,
at least to excuse me in this.

The Extraordinary kindness and Civility you have been pleased to show me, would require a much better Testimony of my Observance and Gratitude, than this, which is the only one I can pay at present, and therefore must beg you to accept it from, My Lord,

Your most Obedient, and most

Obliged Servant

William Payne.

A
S E R M O N
 UPON THE
 Thirtieth of *JANUARY*, 1683. Be-
 ing the Day of the *Martyrdom*
 O F
King Charles I.

I S A M. 26. 9.

*For who can stretch forth his Hand against the Lord's
 anointed, and be guiltless?*

RELIGION, as it makes Provision for us in
 another World; and is the only Means to
 secure us a good State after this Life; a fu-
 ture and eternal Happiness for our Souls;
 so 'tis that also upon which the present Welfare, the
 Comfort and Felicity of this Life does chiefly depend;
 'tis that which supports the World, and preserves the
 Peace and Order, the Quiet, and good Settlement
 of it; 'tis that which sets a Guard about our Lives,
 and all our Enjoyments, and restrains Mankind from
 B ravening

ravening and devouring one another: 'Tis that which is the main Strength, the true Foundation of *Government*, which supports the Princes *Throne*, and Guards it like an Angel from the Sons of Violence; and as it obliges us to all those Duties of Right and Justice, that are necessary for the Good and Welfare of all Mankind; so it especially secures and maintains the *Rights of Princes* and Governours; which cannot be violated without the greatest Mischief, and the most pernicious Consequences to the World.

David, who was the most singular Example of all Religion and Piety to God; who was the great Example and Teacher of it to the *Jewish Church*; and who has left such Memorials and Monuments of it, as make up a great part of the Devotion and Worship of all Christians: Him was God pleased to make as great an Example of Loyalty to his *Prince*, and of Duty and Obedience to his *Sovereign*; and that purely from the same Principles of *Religion* and *Conscience* that made him so to God. He had the least Reason otherwise to be so to his *Prince* that could be well imagined: Who sought to take away his Life unjustly; he hunted him as a Partridge upon the Mountains, and intended to make him a Prey to his unreasonable Fury and Displeasure. Who would have taken away that Right which God had expressly given him; and deprived him of the *Succession to the Crown*, which Heaven had entituled him to. Who destroyed all his Friends he could light of, and murdered *four score and five of the Priests of the Lord* in one day upon his account. *1 Sam. 22. 18. Who put a whole City to the sword, Man, Woman and Child, v. 19.* and exercised all the Acts of Cruelty and Injustice to him, and all those that favoured him.

How much less than all this would have served some Men to fly out into open *Resistance* and *Rebellion* against their Governours? Yet he that was appointed by God's immediate Command, to be the next Heir of the Kingdom, and was anointed by *Samuel* to that purpose, 1 *Sam.* 16. 12. So that in his Life and Safety, the common Welfare and Interest, the Safety of the whole Kingdom of *Israel* was concerned: Nay, he that was the *General of Israel*, and a great Officer under *Saul*; and to such Magistrates more inferiour than *David* was in *Israel*, some People are for giving a Power to *restrain* and *resist* the Superiour Magistrate; yet he under these Circumstances, which if any, would make it lawful and justifiable to have done otherwise, he then only fled away, and made no manner of *Resistance* to *Saul*, who was his *Prince*, tho' he was likewise his *unjust Persecutor*: And to shew that he did this out of *Conscience* and *Religion*, and not for want of *Power*, or *Ability* to do otherwise (which is the only Reason that some men have against *resisting*) God was pleased to put *Saul* into his Hands at the Cave in *Engedi*; and to give him an Opportunity to have done what he would with him; and the men that were then with him, would have persuaded him, That this was a Providence of God that shewed he would have the thing done, 1 *Sam.* 24. 4. And the men of *David* said unto him, behold the day of which the Lord said unto thee, Behold I will deliver thine Enemy into thine Hand, that thou mayest do to him as it shall seem good to thee. How would a much less Providence have been thought enough to make this lawful, and a sufficient Indication of the Will of God to some men who had no such promise at all as that was? but *David* was a better Interpreter, both of God's promise, and of his providence too; and he dared not touch the

person, or the Life of his *Sovereign*; but only cut off the Hem of his Garment; and for that *his Heart smote him* afterwards at the 5th. verse. It were well if some Mens Hearts would smite them, who have cut off not the Hem of their *Sovereign's Garment*, but *his Royal Head from his Body*; and yet their Hearts are so harden'd, that they have shown, most of them, but little Repentance for it.

But this was not enough; *David* might have lost this Opportunity perhaps out of Unadvisedness, or Imprudence, and have been sorry for it afterwards; or it might not have been so fit to have dispatch'd so great a Work at that time; or he had not time to deliberate and consider well what was to be done with so lucky an Advantage. Behold, God tries him another time at *Hachilah*, where *Saul* had pitched his Tents in pursuit of *David*, who was in the Wilderness hard by: There *David* in the Night comes with *Abishai* into the Camp of *Saul*, and finds the Souldiers so careless and sleeping, that he got into the very Trench where *Saul* lay sleeping, with his spear by him, stuck at his Bolster in the ground, and *Abner*, and his other Captains and Guards asleep by him. Here *Abishai* indeed was in the mind of other men, not to spare their *Sovereign* when they have got him into their power. Then said *Abishai* unto *David*, *God hath delivered thine enemy into thine hand this day; now therefore let me smite him, I pray thee, with the spear, even to the earth at once, and I will not smite him the second time:* But *David*, from the same Principles of Conscience, and Religion that had restrained him before, forbids any such thing, as containing the most horrid Sin and Guilt in it; and this also from a Reason that holds good as to all *Sovereign Princes* and *Governours* whatever: And *David* said to *Abishai*, *Destroy him not;*

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not; for who can stretch forth his hand against the Lords anointed and be guiltless? This Example of David is very full, and comes up to the greatest Cases, and allows of no Exceptions that can well be thought of to this his general Principle; and from that I shall offer to you these two things.

1. The great Unlawfulness of resisting, or drawing the Sword against the Sovereign Prince.

2. The horrid Guilt of murdering him, and taking away his Life:

Stretching out the Hand is a Phrase may fairly be understood of both those; tho' I confess it is here principally meant of the later; but 'tis the First is generally the Cause of the other, and the Principle that leads to it; He that stretches forth his Hand so far as to resist his Prince, will stretch it a little farther to murder him too, if it be in his Power, and he finds it necessary for his Designs. I shall therefore first shew the unlawfulness of resisting the Prince, or drawing the Sword against him; and if we once make that good, we secure him from all Attempts and Outrages upon his Life: And this upon several Accounts.

1. From the Practice and Example of the wisest and best Men, who under the most hard and unjust Usages, the most cruel Sufferings from their Governors; and in the worst Cases that can well be put, yet always submitted patiently, and never made use of any Force, or violent Resistance against them. I have prevented my self in the Instance of David, which is so considerable as may serve for a full Example of this under the Old Testament; tho' I might here mention the Behaviour of the Jews, under the Bondage and Cruelty of Pharaoh, who when he oppressed them unmercifully, and murdered their Children as soon as born; and gave them the greatest Provocations to have freed and re-
venged

venged themselves, yet they never made any Attempts
 that way; tho' by *Pharaoh's* own Confession, they
 were more and mightier than the *Egyptians* themselves,
Exod. 1. 9. But I choose rather to offer you what more
 concerns us Christians; tho' it would be a great
 Shame if we should come short in this of the murmur-
 ing, and stiff necked, and *Rebellious Jews*; and that
 is the *Example of Christ and his Apostles*, and the *Primi-
 tive Christians*; which as they are Patterns to us of all
 those Vertues that they taught and commanded; so
 especially of *Loyalty, Obedience, and patient Submissi-
 on* to the Governours which God had set over them;
 and this is more remarkable in them, because they hap-
 pened to live under such Governours as were the
 most notorious for all manner of *Wickedness*, and e-
 specially for *Cruelty and Injustice*; and that most par-
 ticularly to them, as well as others; and yet even un-
 der *Tiberius*, whom *Suetonius* relates, as a Man infam-
 ous, not only for Cruelty to his nearest Relations,
 but even for such Lusts and Debaucheries as were not
 fit to be related; our Blessed Saviour shew'd himself
 a *quiet and obedient Subject*, and paid Tribute at the
 Expençe even of a Miracle, *Matt. 17. 27.* And under
 the Emperor's President, which was *Pontius Pilate*,
 he patiently suffered a most cruel and shameful Death,
 that he was no ways worthy of; and which he could
 have rescued himself from by a *Legion of Angels*, had he
 pleased; but he neither thought fit to make use of
 them, or his Disciples, to deliver him from the Hands
 of Violence and Injustice; but had occasion to shew
 his Dislike of all such Designs, and of all manner of
resisting, or making use of the Sword against the Au-
 thority of our Governours, in that famous Case of
St. Peter, *Matt. 26. 51, 52.* who, when in Defence
 of his *Master*, against those who came to apprehend
 him,

him, he drew his Sword, and smote a Servant of the High Priest, and cut off his Ear. *Jesus* made Amends for it by a Miracle, and commanded him to put up his sword into its place; and that with a Declaration that does for ever condemn the making use of the Sword against the Authority of the Magistrate, tho' it be to defend an innocent person from the greatest Injury: *For all they that take the sword, shall perish by the sword*, that is, who take it against their Rulers, or those whom they appoint or commission: For this was not against the High Priest himself, but his Servant; and neither was he the Supreme Governour at that time.

The *Apostles* of our Saviour followed this excellent Example of their Blessed Master, when all of them, except one, suffered Martyrdom, under that Government that they so quietly submitted to; and so far was St. Paul from resisting, that he repented of an haughty and inconsiderate Word, that he spake against the High Priest, who was judging him against the Law, Acts 23. 5. And never did St. Peter pretend any such power, by Vertue of his Supremacy, as some that call themselves his Successors have done since; nor in any of the first and best Ages of Christianity were there any Tumults, or Seditions, or Factions made against the Government, tho' they were vastly numerous, and had fill'd, as *Tertullian* tells the Heathens themselves, all their Cities, and Castles, and all the places and parts of the Empire; yet *Nunquam Albiniani, vel Niquiam, vel Cassiani inveniri potuerunt Christiani*, No Christians were ever of the Number of any of the Movers of Treason or Sedition, of what Party soever: They endured unheard of Cruelties from their Governours; the greatest Tortures that the Wit and Malice of their Enemies could invent; and this often, as they complained in their Apologies, against Law too, such

such as would have stirr'd up those who had power to defend themselves, had they not learn'd such Principles from their Religion as forbad it; and these were then so powerful upon their Minds, being no doubt often inculcated by their Teachers, as made seven thousand Souldiers, who were Christians in Maximianus his Army, to suffer themselves to be all slain and murdered for the sake of their Religion, when they were all armed, and in a posture to have resisted by force, and defended themselves. More famous and great Examples I might give of this; but in the second place.

2. This was a Christian Principle, and a Command of the Gospel, upon which they grounded their Obedience and Submission to their Governours; else their Example would not be so considerable; but might seem to have proceeded from Weakness and Inability, from Timorousness and Caution, or the like; but nothing is a plainer, or more peremptory Command in the whole Gospel, than to be obedient to our Governours, and not to resist them. I need name but that very well known place, *Rom. 14. 1* Let every soul be subject to the higher powers; and at the Second, *Who-soever resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God, and they that resist, shall receive to themselves Damnation; and that this $\alpha\epsilon\iota\omega\varsigma$* is not only a temporal, but a Divine and Eternal Judgment, is plain from the fifth Verse, *Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for Wrath, but even for Conscience sake*: Not only for Fear of that present Danger you may otherwise incur; but also from the Sence of a future Punishment, and the Consideration of Religion and another World.

The very Temper and Spirit of Christianity is against Resisting; it commands Meekness and Quietness, Peaceable-

Peaceableness and Gentleness, the bearing of Injuries patiently from private persons, much more from our Governours; the bearing the Cross, and suffering all the Evils in the World, rather than doing the least; the *not revenging our selves, but rather giving place unto Wrath*; and all those Duties that take off that turbulent, and furious, and unquiet Disposition, from whence the *resisting of Governours* proceeds; all those *Rebellious Lusts*, from whence come Civil Wars and *Fightings* among us: And it is very strange therefore that Religion should ever put men upon that which it so expressly forbids, that men should think it lawful to resist their Governours, upon the Account of that which plainly disallows any such thing. *Popery* is a Religion most corrupt and dangerous to the Souls of Men; and therefore to be opposed by all lawful ways by every honest Man; but to *resist and rebell* against our Governours for the fear of it; nay, for the thing it self, should God in his Judgment bring it upon us, is what the Gospel forbids upon pain of Damnation, and what the first Christians never did against *Paganism*; and yet they were as hearty Enemies to that as we can be against *Popery*.

3. I might add in the third place, that Resistance is most contrary to the *Constitution of our own Government*, to the Fundamental Establishments of it; the many publick Acts and Declarations that are made concerning it; and the many Oaths by which we are restrained against it; it would be tedious to name these here; and there are few can be ignorant of them, who are themselves bound to take, and I hope they think themselves bound also to keep them, tho' there have been some who have forgot all those, and could as easily unloose them, as *Sampson* did his Withs; and then set themselves free from the Precepts & Examples

of Christ and his Apostles, and the Primitive Christians, by this *Colour* and *Pretext*, that the Government under which they lived, was of another Nature than ours is in *England*; and that such is our Constitution, as makes all those impertinent, and of very little Regard here: And by the same way, might they not discharge Wives, and Children, and Servants from those Duties the Gospel requires of each of them? Because there was great Difference between the State and Condition of those among the *Jews*, the *Romans*, and the *Grecians* formerly, and *with us now*.

I confess, had we such a Government as the *Lacedemonians* under their *Kings* and *Ephori*, or as is in some other places, where the true *Sovereignty* is not as it is here in the *Prince*, they might run the Question into this, who were the *Higher Powers*, to whom *Obedience* and *Non-resistance* did belong, according to the Scriptures? But no *English-man* can have reason to doubt of that here, who knows the *Constitution of our own Kingdom*, and can no more be ignorant who has the *Sovereign Power*, than a Servant, who is the Master of the House he lives in.

4. As *Resistance* of our Governours is against the Examples, and the Principles of Christianity; and also contrary to the Constitution of our own Government; so 'tis contrary also, to *Reason* and *Equity*, and most prejudicial to the *Good of the World*, and the *Welfare of Mankind*: For what would be the Effect of it, but perpetual Tumult and Disorder, Confusion and Anarchy. Government was designed for the publick Benefit of the World, and next to the Being of a God, and a Providence, 'tis that which preserves, and is the greatest Blessing to Mankind; which secures our Lives from Violence, our Estates from Rapine; and is a common Fence, or Hedge, that encloses

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encloses whatever we enjoy in Safety and Security; and if it were lawful to break this down upon every Pett and Distaste against our Governours, we should but lay all open, and in Common again, and become a Prey, and a Spoil to the most strong and crafty: If we might resist, and fall to Force and Violence, whenever we liked not what was done by our Superiours, then we should be no longer Subjects than we thought fit our selves: Their Authority over us should last no longer than we our selves judged it to suit with our Interest, or Humor, or Inclination; and then it would be impossible to provide either for Peace or Justice, or attain any of the Ends for which Government was designed and establish'd.

It is possible indeed that some Inconveniencies may happen sometimes to Mankind, by their Governours abusing their Power and Authority, and using it to serve their own Wills and Pleasures, rather than publick Good, and the Welfare of those who are under them. This I question not, but may happen, and often has so and did so, especially under *those Emperours*, to whom yet the Scripture commanded *Obedience* and *Non-resistance*; but there is much less Mischief likely to befall Mankind from thence then there would, if they should be allowed to disobey and *resist as they thought fitting*. It is not possible to prevent all manner of Inconveniencies, and secure our selves against all possible Evils in this World; but whatever great ones Mankind may lie open to, from the *Princes abuse of his Power*, to the vioalting of his Subjects Rights and Properties; yet there would be abundantly more and greater, if either upon our Mistakes or Jéalousies, or the unreasonable Fears and Pretences of designing and unpeaceable Men, it were lawful to *resist*, and make a *forcible Opposition* against

our Governours. And for this very Reason, I question not but that God, who designs the greatest good to Mankind that here we are capable of, has thus fix'd and determin'd it; and if Men would well consider it, they might see the Reasonableness and Equity, and even the Necessity of its being so; but I haste to the second thing, which is chiefly here meant by *stretching out the Hand*, and that is the *murdering and taking away the Life of God's anointed*; and 'tis that for which our Nation does *Penance* this day, and is the greatest Reproach to our Nation and Religion.

The horrible Guilt of this I shall represent in two Particulars.

1. From the Consideration that he was *God's anointed*, which was that which made *David* not dare to do so *impious* a thing, i. e. one appointed or ordained of God, as all Princes and Governours are: For *there is no Power but of God, the Powers that be, are ordained of God.* Rom. 13. 2. that is, that Authority by which *King's Reign*, and *Princes decree Justice*, is immediately from God, as the *Fountain* of all Power and Authority, and the *chief Sovereign* of the World, from whom all others do truly receive theirs. The Word *anointed*, was used from the Custom of anointing Princes by God's Command, as a Ceremony of Investiture and Inauguration of them to their Government; but it is given also to those to whom God hath given *Sovereign Power and Authority without that*, as *Cyrus* is called the Lord's anointed, *Isa. 45 1.* tho' the way of anointing was not in use among the *Persians*.

God, as he was pleased to imprint his own *Image* and *Likeness* upon Humane Nature, so to Princes and Governours he communicates some of his own *Power*, and *Greatness*, and *Majesty*; and they are his immediate

mediate *Deputies* and *Vicegerents* commissioned as it were to govern and rule, and order this Lower World; and therefore are stiled *Gods*, and have the Name even of *Elohim*, given them, *Psal.* 82. 6. and then if it be a kind of resisting God, and a resisting the Ordinance of God to resist them, what is it to murder, and take away the Lives of these *Earthly Gods*, those who are anointed and commissioned, ordained and appointed by God himself? If it be accounted *Treason* by Humane Laws, to kill a *Judge* or a *Justice* upon the Bench; or an Inferiour Magistrate in the performance of his Office, because he bears the *Person*, as it were of the King; then is it not *Crimen læsæ Majestatis divina*, a *Treason* against God, and of the highest Nature, to destroy and murder one that is God's immediate *Deputy* and *Commissioner*, and an Officer appointed to govern such a part of the World under him?

2. It has all the Guilt in it of the most horrid Murder; for such is taking away the Life of any Man, without a just Power and Authority; and this is committed only to the Governour by God, who is the *Lord of Life and of Death*; and as this is wholly derived from God, and plainly shews, that the Magistrate has this his Power wholly from him, and not from the People, because they who have not Power over their own Lives, can never give that to the Prince which they have not themselves; and therefore this *jus Gladii*, this Power over Mens Lives must come immediately from God to the Magistrate, and since God has declared, that *Vengeance is his*, *Rom.* 12. 19. especially that Vengeance which appears in all Capital Punishments, the Ruler must be his Minister to execute Vengeance in this manner, and to this Degree, to all that do such Evil as deserves it,
Rom.

Rom. 13. 4. For he is this *exdngs*, or *Revenger*, by an Authority received, immediately from God, and not from Men, who have not such a Power and Dominion over themselves, and therefore cannot transfer it to him; from whence therefore shall the *People*, or the whole *Community* challenge to themselves this Power over the Life of *their Sovereign*, since the Power over their Lives is committed to him only by God? As the pretending this is the usurping upon the Divine Authority, so 'tis the most *horrid* and *villanous Murder* in the World, not only of a Man, who bears the *Image of God*, which was the reason given against *Homicide*, *Gen. 9. 6.* but of a King, who bears the Image of God upon another Account also, as he has some Rays of the *Divine Majesty* and *Greatness*, and *Authority*, communicated to him above other Men; and it is no way an Abatement, but an Aggravation of the Crime to do this in a pompous way of *ludicrous* and *pretended Justice*: For that is as if a Company of *Robbers*, before they took away a Man's Purse, should bring him to some of their Fellows, and they tell him, that property was an Encroachment upon the natural Right that all Mankind equally had to the things of the World; and because he had *traiterously* and *feloniously* infring'd this, and other Rights and Priviledges that belong'd to them, therefore they condemn'd him to deliver his Purse immediately. Just such a *Mock-thing* as this was the *High Court of Justice*; and just so much Power had they to *condemn* and *murder their anointed Sovereign*.

And if all *Murder* be a Sin that cries loud to Heaven for Vengeance, and brings a Guilt, not only upon the particular *Shedders*; but *defileth a Land*, as God expressly says, *Numb. 35. 33.* And even an uncertain

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certain Murder was to be expiated by all that lived within any *City* of such a Distance from it, *Deut* 21. Then what Vengeance may we think due, besides what we have felt already for the *Blood of our Late Martyr'd Sovereign*? And how shall this *City*, that was, I am sure, at no great *distance*, the nearest I doubt on all accounts, to this *bloody Murder*, be expiated and atoned from it? Let us use that Prayer that was appointed in that Case, tho' God knows infinitely below and unlike ours, with which I shall conclude: *Be merciful, O Lord, unto thy People Israel, whom thou hast redeemed, whom thou hast redeemed at last from the Slavery and the Cruelty of those bloody and violent Men, and lay not innocent Blood unto thy People of Israels Charge*; and God grant that this Blood may be forgiven unto this Kingdom; and that for the sake of that precious Blood of Christ, which speaketh better things than the Blood of *Abel*, or the Blood of *Charles* the First.

*Now to God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, be
all Honour and Glory, Praise and Thanksgiving,
both now, and for evermore.*

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7

A
S E R M O N

UPON THE
THANKSGIVING,
For the *Deliverance* of the
KING and KINGDOM

From the Late
Treasonable *CONSPIRACY*.

1 S A M. 26. 9.

*For who can stretch forth his Hand against the Lord's
anointed, and be guiltless?*

I Begun a Discourse to you on these Words the
last Thirtieth of *January*; the day wherein our
Nation stands infamous to Posterity, for the
Murder of our Late *Martyred Sovereign*: How
many such *black Days* are we to have, to stain and
discredit our *English Kalendar*? Will the *Traitors* of
our Nation equal the Number of the *Romish Saints*?

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They will in time, I doubt not, bid fair for it, and very much out-do them, had they but every one a day: But it is to be hoped, Posterity will be so kind to us, as to think the *Villany* of the one as incredible as the *Miracles* of the other; and put *our Plots* in the same Rank with *their fabulous Legends*; else we had need of another sort of *Art* of *Oblivion*, that may make *Time* forget as well as *Law*; and blot out our Reproach to after Ages: How will it else look to those who shall have recovered their *English* Vertue and Loyalty, that their *Ancestors*, who were neither wild, nor barbarous, ignorant, nor irreligious, should yet stand upon Record for doing such things as the *darkest Paganism* did never allow, nor the *savagest* people scarce ever commit?

One of the best Princes that ever sate, not only upon the *English*, but upon any Throne, brought as a *Malefactor* before the Bench of his meanest Subjects, when every man in the Kingdom can claim his Priviledge of being tryed only by his Peers; condemned there by a *Mock Scene* of Justice, and barbarously executed upon a *Scaffold* before his own *Palace*.

And should I now tell you of the Excellent Son of that Good Father, murdered by as vile, but a more secret way, by a Company of *bloody Villains*, lying in Wait and Ambush for him, making His Sacred Body the Mark of their murdering Weapons, and levelling their loaded *Blunderbusses* at their Sovereigns Heart: That *Heart* which had always so much Clemency and Tendernefs for his worst Enemies; and spared even many of their Lives, who are now, without Pity, taking away his: Should I tell you how many gaping Wounds they made in his *Royal Breast*; and how the precious Blood gush'd from every Artery, and ran down from every open Orifice,

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fice, like common Water spilt upon the Ground, till the *anointed of the Lord*, thus used by *merciless Villains*, lay gasping and besmeared in his own, and his Brothers Blood. Lord, how dreadful is it to describe or imagine what they would have committed! And when they had done this, they could stop at nothing; but go on like thirsty *Blood-hounds*, to kill and destroy, to *massacre* thousands of his faithful Subjects, to attend their beloved *Prince*, till they had made Rivers of Blood flow in every Street, and fill'd every place with Slaughter and Confusion: Should I tell you all this, and lay open so bloody a Scene before your Eyes, 'twould be but the very History of the late intended Tragedy, of that *Hellish Conspiracy*, which Heaven, whom we thank this day, and can never sufficiently thank all our Lives, has deliver'd us from: When we look back upon it, and view the Danger we have escaped, the pleasing Horror confounds us, and scarce leaves us Sences to be thankful as we ought. I shall therefore take off your thoughts a little from the thing it self, and put you upon thinking what it can ever be, that should engage men in such *stupendous Villanies* as these: what hellish Charms can ever draw men into such *abominable Designs*; and how those, who call themselves *Men* and *Christians*, and, what they are more fond of than either, *Protestants*, should be guilty of what is so contrary and reproachful to all those Honourable Names.

It had been nothing so strange, if these men had been of a Religion, whose very Make is Treasonable, which has mingled *Treason* even with its *Offices of Religion*, and its *Articles of Faith*. Had they been of that Church, which obliges those of its Communion to worship *Traitors* as *Saints*, and to hold *deposing of Kings* as a *Catholick Doctrine*: Had they owned

those General Councils that have decreed this, and acknowledged that Infallible Head, who could in *Cathedra* commend the Assassination of a Prince, and compare it to the best Actions in Scripture, next our Saviour dying for Mankind: It had not been half so much to be wondred at, if they had thus suckt *Treason* from the Breasts of their *Roman Mother*, or been nursed up in it at a *Popish Seminary*; then it would have been but natural to have had the Poyson broke out sometime or other into *Plots*, if the Season had been fair, and outward Circumstances not driven it in. But to renounce *Popery* with great Zeal, and yet retain what is the most *Unchristian* in it, and to pretend to *Protestancy*; and yet allow what every *Protestant Church* in the World condemns, is to resolve to be a *Traitor*, and to be of no *Religion* at all.

Treason in Papists, is like Original Sin to Mankind; they all have it in their Natures, though many of them may deny it, or not know it; and tho' it break not out in all to the same outward Extravagancies; but in Protestants it is like the *Italian Distemper*, it was first brought from another Country, and is no way natural to our own, tho' the Infection has been taken by too many, who had an ill Temper prepared for it, and others, if they take not Care, are liable to catch it by the Lewdness of Ambition, Revenge, or Discontent.

There is no Church in the World that I know of, but the *Romish*, which teaches *Treason*: I wish I could say, there were no Men but they who did so; but if there be too many, it cannot however with Justice be charg'd upon any *Protestant Church*, who all disown it; any more than *Atheism*, or *Polygamy* can be charged to the *Church of Rome*, because some of their Members have defended, and beenguilt of those Crimes;

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Crimes; but where ever it is in *Pope* or *Presbyter*, in *Conclave* or *Classis*, in *Jesuite* or *Fanatick*, 'tis to be abhorred, detested, abominated by every good Christian; and he that can think upon it without doing so, and not let his Heart and his Tongue rise up against it, may in time I doubt, be brought to commit it.

Stretching out the hand to resist the Prince is most plainly unlawful, as I showed you formerly, from the Examples and the Principles of the Christian Religion, from the Constitution of our own Government, and from the consideration of the publick Good and Peace of the World; and that to Murder, or take away his Life, is the most horrid guilt that can be; I then understood that Phrase of *Stretching out the hand* in both those Senses, and so it takes in both the Parts of this *present Conspiracy*; and indeed though Monsters do not use to be alike, yet this does so much resemble that other *Treason* in its main parts and in its manner of production, that I could think of nothing fitter to shew the *Villany* of this, and to antidote mens minds against the like, for the future, then by reviving the same thoughts in your minds, and by proceeding further on the same Subject; and especially in that Method which shall meet with those Objections which are brought against that Duty of *Nonresistance*; those are chiefly some *outlying Cases* as they account them, which come not into this general Duty, but are Exemptions from it; and these are they by which Men are generally drawn into *Treason*, which is a Sin too ugly in its looks to tempt Men, if it wore not a Vizard. 'Tis these Cases which by a *Rebellious Witchcraft*, are cast like Mists before Mens eyes, and so they are juggled and seduced into the saddest *Treasons* and *Conspiracies*; though a great many of them are like the Proposals of *Mathematicians*, to move the Earth if you grant them such

such and such *Postulata*, and allow things to be so ordered as they would suppose, which can never be really done, and the Earth is in no danger to be moved for all their Demonstrations; yet these Men do really move the Kingdom, and turn it out of its place by fancied and Romantick Cases, which it is impossible perhaps, should ever come into practice. But I intend to consider such Cases as are thought more probable and plausible, and which are the common *Stumbling-blocks* that lie in the way of this Duty, and cause a great many, as they did our present *Conspirators*, to fall into that *Treasonable Gulph*, which wholly swallows them up, if they come too near the brink of it.

They are these four.

The Case of Religion, The Case of Legal Rights, The Case of Natural Defence, and the otherwise Remediless Case of Mankind, by the Encroachment of Princes.

1. *The Case of Religion, which is the greatest and most important Concern to Mankind, wherein their Souls and their Eternal Fortunes lie all at stake; and both they and their Posterity may loose what is more valuable then their Lives or Estates, if they stand not up sometimes and fight for their God and their Altars, which were Considerations that always inspired Men with the greatest Courage and Resolution.*

If a Prince shall set up a false and Idolatrous Religion, and attempt to destroy the true Worship of God, here they think, both a Zeal for him and Religion, and a Care of their own and their Posterities Salvation, calls loudly upon them to resist him to the utmost, and with the noble Maccabees, to shed the last drop of their Blood for their Religion and their Temple. If the Protestant Religion be like to be overthrown and Popery to be brought in, this is such an allarm to those who love the one and hate the other, as will not

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not fail to bring in vast numbers forcibly to Resist that Prince who shall ever attempt it ; and think it their duty so to do.

To which I shall give this general Answer.

That we may show our Zeal and our Love to our Religion, a better way then by thus *Resisting* and Fighting for it, for that is to do what our Religion expressly forbids, which can no way consist with that love we should have for it ; They who are such Gallants for their Religion, as immediately to draw and fight for it, do commonly abuse and prostitute it to some ill and Carnal ends, and are seldom such chaste, and constant, and pure Lovers of it, as they pretend. Our Saviour and his Apostles had without doubt as much love for Christianity, and were as zealous to preserve and maintain it as we can be, but yet never thought fit to show it this way, by *Resisting* the Authority that then was, though it did all it could to destroy it.

There is another, and a much better way to demonstrate the highest Affection for our Religion, and that is by suffering for it, and enduring all manner of Evils rather then forsaking it ; and this is a likelier Method to preserve and propagate it, and to transmit it down to Posterity both with safety and credit ; By this very way Christianity has come down to us, in a Channel of blood indeed, but that drawn from its own Friends and Professors who laid down their Lives for it, but not the least drop from its Enemies.

The Maccabees were zealous indeed for their Law, and fought for it, but not against their own *Lawful Prince*, but an Enemy that invaded them, for such was *Antiochus*, who used all manner of provoking
Impiety.

Impiety and barbarous Cruelty against the *Jews* who were not his rightful Subjects, and might therefore rescue themselves from his Oppression and unjust Usurpation.

At other times when any of the *Jewish Kings* set up Idolatry, and Worshipt *Baal* or other False Gods, none of the *Prophets* who were the most zealous Lovers of their *Law*, and rebuked the *Princes* for those Faults to their very Faces, did yet ever call upon the *Elders*, or encourage the People to Resist them, or to fight for their Religion.

*Poper*y is an abominable and *Idolatrous Religion*, the most corrupt of any Sect or Party that calls it self Christian, and the most dangerous to the Souls of Men, but 'tis a better way to keep it out with our Hands bound to the Stake, then stretcht out against our Lawful Sovereign; and we shall show our love to *Protestancy* much better, by dying for it our selves, if need be, then by killing others. One Life of our own Sacrificed to it, is a Nobler Offering, and more acceptable to God and our Saviour, than a thousand Victims at the expence of other Mens Lives.

2. If Men may not Resist purely for Religion and to defend that, yet when they have Law on their sides, either for their Religion or any thing else, and their Princes who are bound to keep the Law, will yet act against it, and despoil them of their Civil Rights and Priviledges, or invade their Properties and destroy their Religion contrary to Law, and to the settled Constitutions of the Kingdom; then surely they may forcibly defend their Laws, and consequently their Religion, or any thing that is thus twisted and complicated with their Laws which it is not in the Princes power to alter or unloose.

To this I shall return a Treble Answer.

1. If the Law had made a Provision and expressly allow'd Resistance, when any such Cases should happen, however foolish a Constitution that had been, yet the Case had been much stronger, and the nullity of the allowance not so easie to be made out, as in the *German Empire* there is such a Provision made, that if the Emperour invade the *Establist Rights* of the *Princes*, who though they are Sovereigns in their own Territories, yet are sworn Subjects to him, they may take Arms, and such a Capitulation there was formerly between the *King of Spain* and the *Low Countries*; but in our Kingdom there is plainly no such thing, and care has been taken that none should imagine that there was any such kind of *tacit* or *implicit* condition, the Law making an expresse *Declaration* to the contrary, to wit, *That it is unlawful to resist upon any account whatsoever*, which puts the thing out of all manner of dispute, that we cannot by *Law* resist though it be to defend what we have by *Law*, for that would be to act against one expresse Law, whilst we were defending another.

2. As long as the *Power of the Sword* is wholly in the *King* by the Law of God and of Man, who shall ever use or draw it without an authority derived from him? From whence else shall any Man have a *Commission* to raise *Companies*, to array an Army, to be a Commander or a General over them, and to use that force which is often necessary for the execution of Justice, and giving force to Laws? for without that they are often but dead Letters, and therefore no Man can be the *Guardian of the Laws*, who is not the *Keeper of the Sword*, which is committed to the *Prince* alone.

3. If a Prince will injure his Subjects, and invade their Rights, nay, and their Lives *against Law*; when they have tried all other means, they must as Christ did patiently submit to an *unjust Sentence*, rather then resist; and, as the first Christians did, who often complain'd that they were punisht *adversus formam, adversus naturam judicandi, contra ipsas quoque leges*, Tertull. Apologet. c. 2. and that their Persecutors would not let them have the same benefit of the Roman Laws with others, *aliter in nos quàm in ceteros nocentes disponitis*, ibid. and yet the great numbers he there tells them they had, did not put them upon *Resisting*; and as St. Paul did, who though inconsiderately, and in Passion, he call'd the High-Priest a Whited-wall, because *when he sat to Judge him after the Law, he commanded him to be smitten contrary to the Law*, Acts 23. 3. yet he presently acknowledged his fault, and own'd, that he should not have so much as *spoke evil* of a Ruler, though he punisht him *illegally* and contrary to the Law, and therefore much less have *Resisted* him.

3. But though the Law of the Land forbids Resistance, yet the Law of Nature, which no other Law can supersede, will allow it for our own necessary defence and Self-Preservation; that is such a natural Right as can never be taken from us, and no Man can ever be supposed to part withal. By this we may take away anothers Life in our own defence, and yet fall under no Law of God or Man for it, and by this a Prince may be resisted as well as a Robber, if he will take away my Goods or my Life as unjustly as he.

To this I shall Answer Three things.

1. The

1. The Law of Nature can at most, besaid only to permit this, not to *enjoy* it; if there were a *Right* of Nature that *allow'd* this, yet there cannot be a *Law* that *commanded* it, and *obliged* us to it, but a Man might still part with his Natural Right without any fault, and it would be an *Heroick* instance of Vertue to do so, rather to give our own Life, or part with any Private Interest of our own, then take away the Life of another Man, and this to be sure, is much the safer side, which is out of all danger and undoubtedly lawful, when there are great Reasons to fear that Resisting even in that Case may prove Damnable.

2. *Positive Constitutions* may limit and restrain Natural Right in this or any other Case, or else all Pacts and Covenants are in vain; nay, and all Civil Laws whatsoever, because they do all of them, restrain Men from that which before they had a Natural Right to; and if we cannot by any means be abridged of that, then there is an end not only of all Government, but of all Property too, and Mankind may return into a *Wild State of Nature*, whenever they please.

3. Though the Law of Nature allows us to resist private Violence in our own defence, yet it does not to resist the Publick Magistrate, for that would be destructive of publick good and injurious to the Peace and Welfare of Mankind, which the other is not; and though I may fairly stand upon my defence when there is only a competition between my own and anothers private good, yet I must not do it when the Competition is between the publick good, and my own private; whoever considers himself as a Member of the vast Body of Mankind, or of a particular Kingdom, must think it as unreasonable and absurd to prefer his own private good to the publick, as

to believe a *single part* to be as great as the *whole*; This is the Prime and Fundamental Law of Nature, to promote as far as we are able, the publick good, and endeavour to increase, not so much our own private share, as the common and publick stock of Happiness which belongs to the whole Company and Community, in which our own is likewise included; and never to think that our own private and particular interest is to be put in the Ballance with that, and there is nothing more strong against Resistance which would not fail to bring in the greatest publick Mischief to avoid a less and more private one, then this very Consideration, which is the true measure, however large, of Moral good and evil, and the very Foundation of all the Laws of Nature.

4. *If neither upon the account of Religion, nor Laws, nor yet Self-defence, it be lawful to resist the Prince, then Mankind is left in a Remediless Case and Condition, and must lie open to the continual Encroachments and Tyrannies of their Governours, and notwithstanding all Laws for their security, yet if they must not stand up to defend, and if need be to fight for those Laws, they are in the same condition as if they had none, for the Prince may break those Spiders Webs when he pleases, and only use them as a Snare to catch others in; he may enslave and murder us when he pleases, if he may not be Resisted when he thinks fit to do so.*

To which I Answer.

1. We must never expect to find out a Remedy against all possible Inconveniencies in this World, in this low and imperfect State we shall always be subject to some publick as well as private Evils, the *body polittick* will never be free from all manner of Infirmities and

and Diseases any more then the body *Natural*, such a *Temperamentum ad pondus* can never be expected in either as shall keep them from all illness at present, or corruption at the last.

There can no more be a perfect Government, such as we would fain imagine to our selves, then there can be a perfect Circle or streight line such as *Mathematicians* suppose; *Matter* and *Mankind* will not be brought to that exactness, but that some unevenness and irregularity will belong to both, and if we should go about to pare all those off, the incapacity of the Subject would not admit it, and we should probably by our trying make them much worse then they were before, an endeavour to patch up and amend the necessary Imperfections that attend this our present State, has made them commonly much greater and wider, as *Paracelsus* kill'd himself in his Youth by endeavouring to make himself Immortal.

The *Papists*, to prevent all possibility of Errour in Divine things, which God has not, and I'm sure, Man cannot make such a Provision against as they would have, have brought in an Infallible Teacher into the Church, as a necessary and plausible Expedient to keep out all Heresie and Errour that else we might be subject to fall into; and see the good of this notable device of theirs, it has brought more Errors and more dangerous and incurable ones into Christianity, then it would ever have had without it.

The Projectors of the late times would have the Prince accountable to the People to prevent the ill use of his Power and Authority; but never was more Mischief done then by that Traiterous Device, and the People could never have been in a worse case under the most grievous Tyranny, then under such

such Anarchy and Confusion; They who should take account of the Prince, like the Ephori or the Tribunes, who should take account of them? and who again of them? we must run into an infinite Circle, or we must stop somewhere, and where ever we do we shall be just in the same case.

There must be unaccountable Sovereignty somewhere, whatever *Politick Absurdities* we may think follow from it, as there must be an indivisible part of matter at the last, whatever Difficulties Philosophy may charge it with.

2. A Legal Constitution, especially so good an one as our own, is a great security to us: This makes a Kingdom like a curious and well-made Machine fitly framed and joined together in its several parts, the *Prince* is the greater Wheel, and the first Principle of Motion in it, and the *Law* is like a Pendulum that *evens and regulates* that Motion, and though notwithstanding that he should happen to be irregular, yet he would hardly be able to spoil the whole Mechanism, and make all the under wheels and other parts move contrary to their true make and shape, which the Law has given them; the subordinate Officers are not bound to act illegally, and would not easily be brought to it against their Oaths and their Interests, when they know they may be punished here, and shall be damned for it hereafter; and whilst the Hands and the Legs are to execute the Commands of the Head, though they must not rise up against that, yet that cannot when it pleases put them into an unnatural motion and distortion.

But though the Machine might be disordered a little by some great shake and concussion, yet while it is so strong, and so well made, it would come right again in a little time, and fall into its true make and proper

proper Motion. *Res nolunt diu male administrari.* Things would not stand long bent by an illegal force, but would by degrees unloosen themselves by a kind of natural Elasticity which the Law gives them.

3. God's Providence and Government of the World is the best security in this and all other Evils we are subject to; *If Parents will grieve their Children and be bitter against them, if Princes will injure their Subjects and Tyrannize over them, if a more powerful Prince will like a greater Pyrat Rob and Spoil his Neighbours, and make a Prey of them,* 'tis God alone they must appeal to, and expect to be righted at his Tribunal.

Princes are God's immediate Officers and Lieutenants, and he will take particular inspection over them, that they abuse not his People committed to their Charge, to him alone they are accountable, and therefore he who has exempted them from the Cognizance of others, will take the Matter into his own hands, and not suffer their faults to go unpunisht; *But who art thou, O Subject, who judgeth thy Prince? To his own Master he standeth or falleth.* To him they have given a Pledge by their Oaths, and if they break those, *Satis est quod Deum expectent ultorem,* It is sufficient that he to whom Vengeance belongeth, is the Avenger of all such, and this he is in so terrible a manner, that nothing has felt his Anger more dreadfully than a Tyrant's Conscience, no body has had more Horrors and Fears, more Stroaks of a Divine Nemesis upon him then he that has used his Power to cruel and unjust Designs; the meanest of his Vassals has not felt so much Torment and so many Racks from him, as he has done from his own Mind, nor has any half so much reason to fear his Power as he has

has to be afraid of Gods; that great Patron of Justice, and Great Governour of the World, who ruleth the raging of the Sea and the Madness of the People, will set bounds also to the Power and Injustice of Princes, and so far as is necessary for the good of the World, and for his Wise Designs, *so far they shall go and no farther*, but like Earthquakes and Tempests, and Inundations, we have no security against them, but from the Providence of God.

These are the chief *Cases* and *Objections* against the Duty of *Non-Resistance* or not *Stretching out the hand against the Lord's Anointed*; and by these however Magical Delusions the Evil Spirit of Rebellion has been conjured up, and still haunteth this Nation, and fills it with Plots and Treason, with Noise and Mischief and Disturbance; and I know no such way to lay it from ever rising again, as a full and clear Resolution to those fore-mentioned Cases which I have endeavoured to give.

As to the other way of *Stretching out the Hand* to take away the Life of the *Lord's Anointed*, that is so Horrid and Villanous, that one would think it should have none to defend it, though it have had some to commit it, but there is no cause of interest so bad but it has had its Advocate, and when ever there has been a *Clement* or a *Ravilliac*, there has been a Confessor to incourage if not a Pope and an Infalible Orator to commend him; the Opinions of the Jesuits are well known to be positive in the case, and others have fashion'd their Weapons at the Forge of those *Philistines* which are to take away the Lives of Princes, and though they are not come to Consecrate Daggers for the purpose, and that because, they are against the *Ceremony* rather than the *Villany*, yet Pi-
stols

stols and Blunderbuffes are thought to be Blessed Instruments for doing the great Work ; though they expect not to be Sainted for it and adored in Heaven, yet they expect what they will hardly allow the Saints themselves, to have their Images erected upon Earth, and Statues set up to their honour, and to the memory of such Noble Archievements. Like *Herostatus* they design to make their Names Famous by doing some extraordinary Villany, and by daring to be wicked beyond the rest of Mankind, The committing such a Wickedness as others are astonisht to think of, is to be an Heroic Villany, and they want nothing to out-do what has been ever done, or ever thought of, but with the old Gyants to pluck God out of his Throne, and *so to put down all Rule, and all Authority and Power, both in Heaven and Earth.* I cannot think that Men can seriously argue themselves into such Villanies as these, but it must be the very same thing that makes the Devil a Rebel to God, which makes these Men Regicides, and Traytours to their Sovereign ; a Proud, an Envious, a Discontented, and Diabolical Spirit that infinite Power cannot awe, nor infinite Goodness oblige ; but the Devil and a *Scotch Conventicler* are such Sophisters as can set off the most Horrid Villany, and represent this *as an Heroick Bravery, and a sort of Gallantry that the Grecians and the Romans thought fit to be rewarded with Crowns, and Statues, and publick Insigns of Honour ; the killing of Tyrants was thought, a Vertue like that of Hercules, who destroy'd abundance of those Monsters, & nihil usitatus quam eorum interfectores in Cælo collocari :* says Tully *ad Attic. l. 14. Ep. 16. Harmodius and Aristogiton and others were commended to the Skyes for these very Performances ; and not only the Greeks and the Romans did thus commend and honour them, but even*

in Scripture, Jael, and Judith, and Ehud, Barack, and Deborah, and those Jewish Deliverers of their Country stand all upon the Records of Fame and the Divine Approbation for Murdering Kings and Tyrants that were the Enemies of God and his peculiar People, and when the Cause of God and His People, the Cause of Religion and Conscience is the great thing that is to be carried on, who that has a Zeal for those, would not do any thing that is necessary for so glorious an end?

Lucifer himself could hardly have instilled worse Principles into the Angels when he persuaded them to turn Devils and to forsake their first Station: I shall give a particular Answer to the three Parts that it consists of.

1. As to the *Grecians* and the *Romans*, when they affix such worthy Names and Honours to the killers of Tyrants, they did not mean by Tyrants their lawful Princes but *Usurpers*, that by force and violence assumed an unjust Power to themselves, contrary to the regular form of Government that was established among them, such as had no just Title to rule by the Laws of their Country, but invaded the Rights of their proper Governours, and over-turned the whole Frame of the Common-wealth, and against such as these they were empowered by the established Laws of their Country, by the *Lex Solonis* among the *Greeks*, and the *Lex Valeria* among the *Romans*; and if any were guilty of doing this to their lawful Governours, it must be reckoned as part of that *Ferity* and *barbarous Ignorance* which was in those Nations before Christianity taught them better, when to kill themselves was accounted as *Heroic* a Vertue as to Murder a Tyrant; but the Soberest amongst them taught otherwise, *Ἐὶ ἀρχὴν ἔχον ἀνὰ ταξέν, ἔδωκεν ἀντιπαλαῖναι,* says

says Aristotle in his *Politicks*, the very Doctrine of Non-Resistance, and ἡ δέμιατος ἐστὶν νενομισμένης ἐξουσίας σὺντα πρὸς χεῖρας προσφέρειν, says Plutarch, Agis & Cleom. The very words almost of David, It is not lawful to stretch forth the hand against a Prince, and we have Examples even amongst both the *Greeks* and *Romans* of the same Punishment against those who were concerned in the Murder of their Princes, that David inflicted upon the *Amalekite* for the Death of *Saul* 2 Sam. 1. 16. *Alexander* put him to Death who kill'd *Darius* that was his Sovereign, though he had been a great while *Alexander's* Enemy, and so did *Domitian*, *Nero's* Freeman, who was but accessory to his Masters Murdering of himself.

2. As to the comparing this Villany with the actions of *Jael*, and *Judith*, and *Ehud*, and others who destroyed those their Enemies with whom they were in a State of War, or had particular Commissions from God to authorize them in the doing such extraordinary Achievements, they might as well, and with as good reason argue, that because *David* kill'd *Goliath* and destroy'd the *Philistines*, that therefore he might have taken away the Life of *Saul*; nay, that he might have made no more to kill him then the *Lyon* and the *Bear*, for God's Anointed are accounted by these Men, but as a sort of *Wolves* and *Tygers*, and *Beasts of prey*, that ought to be destroyed; and they may as well make use of the Example of *Abraham* to Sacrifice and Murder their Children when they please; as of *Jehon* and others in Scripture, to destroy the House and Family of their Sovereign.

3. As to the last thing, that they may do anything for the carrying on a good Cause and Design, as they will be sure to call what they are promoting, that if it be the *Work of the Lord*, and the maintaining the true Religion, and the *Protestant interest*, the keeping out *Popery* and destroying *Antichrist*, or any such good end they are to accomplish, they may then do any thing that is necessary to this, and not stick at any means that come in their way, be they never so bad, because a good end and intention will not fail to *hallow* and Sanctifie the whole action, or at least to *expiate* and at one for all the guilt that is in it; This I believe is a Principle that draws in a great many into the most villanous and unwarrantable Designs, into Treasons and Murders, and the greatest Villanies when they think them necessary to go through with that great and good Cause they have undertaken; and this is an excellent *principle*, like an Elixir that turns the worst Matter into Gold, to *transmute* Treason and Murder into the purest Vertues; and by a certain sleight of Intention and Spiritual Legerdemain to put the worst actions in the place of the best, and *Hocus Pocus* Vice into Vertue, when ever one pleases; Nay, 'tis to destroy the very *nature* of good and evil, and to make nothing so in its self, but as our own Intentions put a *stamp* upon it; if we can but *graft* a good intention upon never so bad an action, this shall change the very *kind*, and make all it bears fair and lovely; one *drop* of this good intention shall take away all the venom out of the most poysonous wickedness, turn bitter into sweet, evil into good; it will make good and evil that are naturally and immutably *fixt*, melt and soften in our hands, so that we may form and fashion them as we please, and makes them meerly *relative* and dependent upon our Thoughts

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Thoughts and Designs, which is to destroy all Religion. If a Man do but winck and aim well, tho he Murder his Sovereign, nay, if it were his Saviour, he should be justified by this Principle, and the *Jews* who kill'd Christ and his Apostles, and *thought they did God good Service thereby*, as many of them probably did, may plead it in their own full defence. I cannot imagine how any one can have a good intention, who ventures upon such plain and notorious Villanies, but if these be guilded over with never such fair Pretences, and are thought necessary for never so glorious a design, yet *Resisting and Murdering* the Lord's Anointed are so manifestly sinful and unlawful, that *none can do such evil that good may come, but their Damnation must be just* both with God and Man. But sad is it when Men shall form such Principles to themselves as shall lead them into such Hellish Villanies, when they shall think these abominable Practises not only lawful but necessary to *God's Glory*, as if he could not bring about his own ends without their Wickedness, but the Devil must be called in to assist God, and to carry on the Cause of Religion.

God preserve Christianity from that Reproach and Blasphemy which these Wicked Men have brought upon it.

God preserve the Protestant Religion from that advantage is hereby given our Enemies to destroy it.

He who ordereth all things unto his own Glory, be pleased to bring good out of this Evil, and make it a means to unite us all unto his Church, and make us Loyal and Faithful unto his Anointed.

And

And for ever blessed and praised be the Providence of that God who hath brought to light the hidden things of Darknesse, and has not given us over as a prey to Blood-thirsty Men, who lay in wait to destroy us.

And thou, O King of Heaven and Earth, who hast graciously delivered thine Anointed from the hands of wicked Men stretcht out against him, and hast miraculously preserv'd him from the Plots and Conspiracies of all his Enemies, keep him always, we beseech thee, under the shadow of thy wings, preserve him as the Apple of thine Eye, and guard thou his Throne with Legions of Angels, that the Sons of Violence may never approach to hurt him; the Lord preserve him and keep him alive, that he may be blessed upon Earth, and deliver thou not him unto the Will of his Enemies. Psal. 41. 2.

F I N I S.
